592 man and wife and their unmarried children. The
[591] married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other
[928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not dif-
[586] ficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. How-
[622] ever, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was
[562] strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50]
[839] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu
[621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the
[567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polyga-
595 mous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō. *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *saké*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *nwechiu saké*, i.e. matrimonial *saké*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *fiancé*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *nwechiu marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their
● [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

583 591 If the young woman herself or her parents were the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *nirkoak*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *niritak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 585 The people considered their daughters to be marriageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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858 582 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

591

858 562 When children were betrothed quite young, the bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to perpetuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *sare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been already noticed, and that the various wives lived in separate dwellings and that these females were often not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

arundinaria are collected in sufficient quantity to thatch the frame thickly on each side. Other poles or rafters are then placed over these reeds, and through them lashed tightly to the under frame, thus preventing the thatch from being blown or washed away. Care is taken to leave an opening for the door; and the small east window—usually the only one in Ainu huts—is cut out afterwards by means of a knife. Ainu huts have never more than one storey and never more than one room and a small porch. In districts where the climate is less severe the porch is often dispensed with. In building their habitations the hairy people make no attempt whatever at symmetry or beauty; all they aim at is to make themselves a shelter and nothing more.

There are no more professional architects than professionals of any other kind in the Ainu country. Each man is his own architect, builder, and carpenter. He may occasionally receive the help of a neighbour when he is building his hut, if all hands in the family are not sufficient to carry him through his work.

Each family has its own hut, which is used day and night by all the members. If one of the sons gets married he sometimes brings his bride to live in his father's hut, or else he goes to live in his bride's hut; but as the "hairy mother-in-law" is no better than other "mothers-in-law," the end of this arrangement is that generally the bridegroom has to build a habitation for himself and his better-half. Fortunately for him, he has to pay no ground-rent; nor has he to take a lease, nor pay the lawyer for an agreement, nor yet to buy the ground nor the materials on which and of which his not too luxurious abode is to be built. He chooses the site which is most suitable to him, and there he builds his hut as best he can; and no one is any the worse or the wiser for it. The "furnishing" is a matter of no consideration with the Ainu, as he prefers to live in an "unfurnished house." By instalments, however, as he finds his floor becoming rather damp, he provides himself with a few rough planks, which afford him comfortable sleeping accommodation; and during the winter, when fishing is not practicable, and he spends most of his day at home, he roughly carves for himself a moustache-lifter (the *Kike-ush-bashui*); a small paddle, the *Hera* (which is used both to stir the

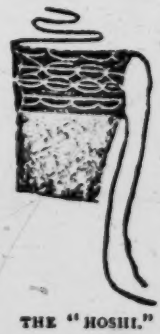
4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

atsis, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front.

I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day.

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual every-day costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are.

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would



THE "HOSHI."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuku*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *kapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo,* respectively. The term *keuskut* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama kapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe,* respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur,* and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar, shine onaka esap utar,* or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuku epeka ir-utar, shine unuku esap utar,* or *shine unu korkur.*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura

/762/

General Treatment of Women. —

844 Among the rest of the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island births
[143] are handled quite differently. These people are the hairy Ainu who in appearance much resemble the Russian peasants. They do not have many of the discomforts that burden the women in childbirth and of which we will say more below. This fact cannot be ascribed to their longer and closer contact with the more civilized Japanese, for other crude customs, which have been preserved to an equal extent among the Ainu and the Gilyak,
844 have not changed correspondingly. The cause, rather, of the
562 greater care which is accorded here to the woman in childbed lies in the considerably better social standing of the Ainu woman. She is never sold, and after marriage she does not become a
[585] member of a foreign tribe. Kinship on the maternal side is con-
[602] sidered closer than that on the paternal side. Altogether there are still clear traces of an earlier /763/ matriarchy in the Ainu
[182] family. By now it is pretty well extinct but pronounced enough yet to make the life of an Ainu woman far better in many cases than that of women belonging to other tribes.

591 The Ainu girl after her marriage is in no hurry to move
844 over into her husband's house and often spends a few years in the parental house. Therefore her first confinement takes place, as a rule, among her closest relatives. I knew a woman in her middle age who had traveled back home to await her confinement in her parents' house.

From that alone it is obvious that the Ainu offer the woman
843 in childbirth more comforts than the Gilyak or Orok (1). In
562

1. The third tribe living on Sakhalin. Its customs are more similar to those of the Gilyak than those of the Ainu.

fact, one notices a definite sense of sympathy and of a certain awe towards the woman who is shortly to become a mother.

[Pp. 756-762 on the Gilyak have not been translated – Analyst]

[p.7]

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
[342] framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
[354] house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table 1.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
	Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)	Kuttarashi	Nitmap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Moseushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
	Total Number of Member Houses Identified	8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman		1								1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
[611] the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[79] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[4].

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* ihherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[5]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there.

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him.

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes.

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

582 The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the
611 avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

611 It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

611 It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, ill-
602 ness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

582 To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The
591 present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3